

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

NEXHMIJE HOXHA

**SOME FUNDAMENTAL
QUESTIONS OF THE
CLASS STRUGGLE**

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In the framework of the propagation of the ideas of the 7th Congress of the PLA, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and the Party Committee of the Tirana District organized a meeting, on June 27, 1977, where Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, Member of the Central Committee of the Party and Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA, delivered the paper entitled: «Some Fundamental Questions of the Revolutionary Policy of the Party of Labour of Albania about the Development of the Class Struggle», to an audience made up of leading cadres of the Party, the state organs, the army, the mass organizations, the scientific institutions, propagandists, etc.

This meeting opened the scientific sessions on the class struggle, which were held in July in the various districts of the country, under the auspices of the In-

stitute of Marxist-Leninist Studies and the party committees of the districts. Apart from the above paper, four other papers were also held in these sessions, «Class Struggle in the Political Field During the Period of Socialism», «The Struggle in the Ideological Field, a Vast and Complicated Front of the Class Struggle in the Socialist Society», «Some Problems of the Class Struggle in the Economic Field», «The Class Struggle within the Party, a guarantee for the Party to Remain forever a Revolutionary Party of the Working Class», as well as a number of copapers and contributions on the problems of the class struggle in various fields.

This booklet contains the paper, «Some Fundamental Questions of the Revolutionary Policy of the Party of Labour of Albania about the Development of the Class Struggle» published in the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, «Rruga e Partisë», Nr. 6, Tirana, 1977.

The 7th Congress of the Party devoted special attention to the class struggle in order that it will always be waged correctly and with determination.

«The major successes and victories our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party, in their struggle to develop the revolution and construct socialism,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress, «are linked with the fact that **the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and waged it consistently against the internal and external enemies, as well as among the people and in its own ranks**»¹.

Among other things, their stands on the significance and implementation of the theory of

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1976, p. 128 (bold type from the editor).

the class struggle distinguish Marxist-Leninists from revisionists. Marxist-Leninists consider the class struggle as the main motive force of class society and wage it with radically revolutionary methods on the basis of irreconcilability with the class enemies, and their policy and ideology. Revisionists follow the policy of conciliation with the class enemies, internal and external, the policy of extinguishing the class struggle, not only in the instances when they deny it openly, but also on the instances when they accept this struggle in words.

The PLA has always made the class struggle the foundation of its policy and practical activity. Loyally adhering to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle, it has further developed and enriched the theory and practice of this struggle with its revolutionary experience.

I shall dwell only on some questions of the class struggle which were set out at the 7th Congress of the Party, questions of a universal principled character, which have to do with the development of the struggle on **the internal and external fronts.**

I

THE CLASS STRUGGLE — THE MAIN MOTIVE FORCE IN OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The class struggle is the main motive force, not only in society with antagonistic classes, but in every society divided into classes, including socialist society.

The great classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have described the class struggle as «the force which determines the development of the society», «the true motive force of history», «the basis of all development and its motive force».

Is this true for our socialist society, too, in which the exploiting classes have been eliminated, and in which other very important motive forces have emerged?

For as long as the question «who will win?» has not been solved completely and finally, for as long as the fundamental contradiction remains the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, that is, until communism, **in essence**, the definition which the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism have given about the class struggle does not change. The class struggle is the essence of all

the other motive forces in socialist society. Only the profound understanding and the determined and ceaseless waging of the class struggle enables the other motive forces of socialist society to act with all their force.

Our Party has always been clear that the class struggle continues during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism. Attacking the viewpoint of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who had proclaimed the class struggle a thing of the past in socialism, the 5th Congress of the PLA declared that the class struggle continues even after the elimination of the exploiting classes, and at the same time set out the arguments why and against whom the class struggle continues. This thesis is in full accord with what Lenin said, that «the proletariat does not cease the class struggle after the seizure of the state power, but continues it until the elimination of classes»¹, that is in communism.

At the 17th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1934 Stalin, also, stated bluntly: «Classless society cannot come automatically, as you might say. It must be taken through struggle..., by

¹ V.I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, pp. 466-467 (Alb. ed.).

strengthening the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by **waging the class struggle**, by eliminating classes, by liquidating the remnants of the capitalist classes, in struggle with both the internal and external enemies»¹.

The 7th Congress of the PLA reiterated this correct Marxist-Leninist thesis, proven in practice, **describing the class struggle as an objective phenomenon in socialism, too, the main motive force which determines the development of society.**

The class struggle in our socialist society has its source:

On the one hand, in the existence of remnants of the exploiting classes and in their aims and efforts to regain their lost class power, riches, privileges and prerogatives; in the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement and in the aims and efforts of external enemies to destroy our socialist order by means of ideological aggression or military aggression; in the emergence of new capitalist elements and new internal enemies, who become a great danger to the Party and the prole-

¹ J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 337 (Alb. ed.) (bold type from the editor).

tarian power, to socialism; in the blemishes from the old society which continue to exist for a long time in the consciousness of men, blemishes which become an obstacle to the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party as dominant ideology and policy; in the so-called «bourgeois right» in the field of distribution, which socialist society is obliged to use, although it limits it more and more; in the differences between town and countryside, physical work and mental work, etc., which cannot be eliminated immediately.

The class struggle has its source **not only in these things** mentioned above, but also **in another aspect**, which is sometimes overlooked: in the aims and efforts of the working class and its ally, the cooperativist peasantry, under the leadership of the proletarian party, to uproot every last trace of capitalist society, to carry the socialist revolution through to complete and final victory, to the complete construction of socialist and communist society, to defend every victory of the revolution and prevent a return to capitalism, to eliminate classes completely, as well as to contribute in the elimination of imperialist-revisionist oppression and exploitation and the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

The class struggle is an objective law of development, but the subjective factor plays the decisive role in the outcome of this struggle.

This struggle is a clash of opposing forces. As in every struggle, one side wins, the other side loses. The struggle which is going on at present between socialism and capitalism is not automatically crowned with the victory of socialism, although in general, time is working for socialism. The triumph of socialism in every country and on a world scale depends on the consciousness, readiness, preparation, organization and mobilization in struggle of the working class and the other working masses, subjective conditions which the party of the working class, as the leader of the revolution, prepares.

What ought to be the relationship of the subjective factor to the objective factor in the class struggle? The Party must follow a revolutionary policy of class struggle, built up on the basis of its profound knowledge and implementation of the objective laws and conditions of this struggle, must educate the masses with lofty socialist consciousness, must prepare and organize them in the class struggle to the highest possible level, must wage the struggle with revolutionary meth-

ods, always together with the masses, and under its leadership on the basis of the objective laws and conditions.

Any stand and act not in conformity with the objective laws and conditions, acts of terrorism or adventurism, confusion, fear, loss of direction in the struggle, passivity, or even worse, capitulation to the pressure of enemies or difficulties and obstacles are mortal blows to the revolution, cause defeat in the class struggle and the revolution, make it possible for the imperialist, reactionary bourgeois-imperialist forces and revisionism to win.

On the contrary, the policy of the class struggle and leadership of the class struggle on the scientific basis of the objective laws and conditions, with determination, courage and revolutionary farsightedness, with skill and proletarian maturity, always holding the initiative in the struggle, lead to victory over the class enemies and the reactionary old.

The class struggle is a life and death struggle between socialism and capitalism and as such **it is waged objectively and fiercely** during the entire period of the transition to communism.

The thesis of our Party has been and is this: the class struggle within the country is never extinguished until the complete construction of communist society, **it is waged fiercely, with zigzags or peaks and troughs and is interwoven with the class struggle on the external front.** When we speak about the class struggle it is important to stress its three inherent elements: a) its stern character, b) the rises and falls of its development and c) its interconnection with the external front.

The 7th Congress of the Party pointed out once again that «the construction of socialism is a process of a stern class struggle between two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road»¹. Hence, not only the existence of the class struggle, but also its **stern development has an objective character**, because objectively, it cannot happen, and is not to be expected, that the class enemy will not resist, will not exert pressure, but will prove to be big-hearted or give up its power, its riches and its privileges voluntarily, and consequently will not put up a fierce fight against the

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 127.

social-political forces which aim to exterminate it, while on the other hand, the working class with its allies, with the proletarian party at the head, can achieve its decided objectives and the construction of socialist and communist society only through the revolution and resolute revolutionary struggle.

The rises and falls are degrees of the sternness of this struggle and have to do with the concrete questions over which it is being waged, with particular moments of the struggle around one or the other issue, with the internal and international situations and circumstances, as well as with other factors of an objective and subjective character.

In practical activity it is very important to understand and apply correctly this conclusion of our Party, arrived at on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle and from the many years of experience of the class struggle in our country and on an international scale, to consistently maintain correct stands and avoid falling either into opportunism or into sectarianism. Never forgetting that the class struggle does not die out, that it develops fiercely, helps us to be always vigilant, always on attack against the

class enemy, against the blemishes of the old society and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, to be ready at all times to repulse any enemy attack. The falls must never be understood as any slackening of the class struggle. The Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat are never permitted to ease up in this struggle. If we ease up the struggle, the enemy does not, so we merely give him the possibility to return to the attack, and the reactionary old raises its head. On the other hand, the Party demands a clear understanding of the rises. The line of the Party in regard to the class struggle does not alter either at moments of rises or at moments of falls. In conformity with the situations, the Party takes the appropriate measures, so that it always has the situation in hand, but it **does not incite the class struggle artificially**, never undertakes hasty, sectarian, adventurous acts, never confuses the enemy with those who are not enemies, or antagonistic contradictions with non-antagonistic contradictions, always wages the class struggle together with the working masses, and is fighting all the time in all fields and directions.

The class struggle within the country develops in combination with the external front

of the struggle.

Our people have always been very clear about who are our enemies.

In regard to the external enemies the issue has been relatively more simple. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are the main enemies, not only of socialist Albania, but also of all the peoples of the world. Our Party has never cherished any illusions about either of these enemies, has never divided the struggle against the two imperialist superpowers and has prepared the masses of the people for merciless and uncompromising struggle against the aggressive and predatory policy and activity of both the one and the other superpower. Yugoslav revisionism and international revisionism, the other imperialists and world reaction, are also external enemies.

This does not mean that we have never had anything to worry about in this direction of the class struggle. Time and again underestimation or an incomplete or superficial concept of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the struggle against this encirclement and the external enemies in general, have been noticed. The Party has always drawn attention to such underestimations and one-sided and superficial concepts. In partic-

ular the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha on March 15, 1973: «How Must the Imperialist-Revisionist Encirclement Be Understood and Combated», is of great importance. The struggle against any opinion or stand which underestimates the danger of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, ideological and military aggression from abroad, against any lack of vigilance and slackening of our preparation, from every viewpoint, to cope with either form of aggression, remains one of the most important permanent tasks. The 7th Congress of the Party demands total mobilization in the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, strengthening our internal front against this encirclement in all directions, in the fields of defence and the economy, of policy and ideology. At the meeting with the Vlora party activists, Comrade Enver Hoxha again dwelt on the great task of how the imperialist-revisionist encirclement must be thoroughly understood, and especially how this encirclement must be combated and smashed.

The enemy pressure from abroad is combined with the regressive internal enemy pressure in a single front against the Party and the working masses, with the aim of providing the soil and

the necessary nutriment for Right opportunism, revisionism.

The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th plenum of the Central Committee of the Party made the question of the ties and collaboration which exist between the external and internal enemies more clear. All the internal enemies, without exception, are at the same time, in one way or the other, agencies of external imperialist and revisionist enemies regardless of whether these connections and this collaboration are realized directly or indirectly. The threads which unite the former with the latter are numerous. They are not united only by their common anti-communist ideology and identical aim of eliminating the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the whole socialist order in our country. They are united also by the support they render each other in the practical activity they carry out, the former from within, the second from abroad, to achieve this aim. Without each other's support, it is difficult if not impossible for them to act more or less successfully. Their need for each other drives them in search of various ways and means to establish, not only indirect ties, but also direct ties, to ensure the strongest possible mu-

tual support and backing and the most extensive and fruitful coordination of their hostile work. This was confirmed once again by uncovering the ties and collaboration between some revisionist states and the enemy groups of plotters and putschists of Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezhi, and Fadil Paçrami and their running dogs, which were punished by the Party and the people in recent years.

The class struggle has in essence the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. The resolution of these contradictions through the class struggle drives society forward.

Therefore, in order to wage the class struggle correctly, it is necessary to have a profound knowledge of these contradictions and their character, to define the fundamental contradiction in any given stage of the revolution, on the resolution of which the resolution of all the other contradictions depends, to always follow a revolutionary method in resolving contradictions, using ways and means that vary in conformity with the character of one or the other contradiction.

Everybody knows that class contradictions are divided into two major groups: antagonistic and non-antagonistic. The contradictions be-

tween socialism and capitalism, between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, between the socialist morality and the petty-bourgeois psychology, religious prejudices and backward customs, between us and the enemies, are antagonistic contradictions. The contradictions among the working masses, among various aspects of our socialist order are non-antagonistic.

Antagonistic contradictions are characteristic of society with antagonistic classes. But in a society with non-antagonistic classes, such as our socialist society, where the exploiting classes have been eliminated, what place do these contradictions occupy?

The Party has always made it clear that antagonistic contradictions have not disappeared in our country with the elimination of the exploiting classes as such; they exist along with the non-antagonistic contradictions.

The fundamental antagonistic contradiction is always the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

This contradiction, as all experience of the revolutionary struggle shows, is resolved little by

little, according to the stages of the revolution; first on the political plane with the seizure of political power by the working class with its party at the head, on the economic plane with the construction of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside, on the ideological plane with the complete triumph of the proletarian ideology over the bourgeois ideology, of communist morality over bourgeois morality. The victory in the ideological field is not achieved immediately after the seizure of power and the establishment of socialist relations in production.

The bitter experience of the Soviet Union has shown that as long as the fundamental contradiction has not been resolved, in the ideological field, too, **the fundamental contradiction in the political and economic fields cannot be considered as solved completely and finally, that is, the triumph of the socialist revolution cannot be considered complete and final.** Thus, neither with the seizure of power, nor with the construction of the economic base of socialism is the question, «who will win», resolved **finally**, in other words, the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist and capitalist road is not resolved finally.

This fundamental contradiction remains during the whole period of the transition to communism.

If the class struggle is not waged correctly and ceaselessly, not only in the ideological field, but also in the political and economic fields, **the possibility** exists of the transformation of non-antagonistic contradictions into antagonistic ones. That this possibility has not been eliminated, that not all the antagonistic contradictions have been eliminated in our socialist society, hence, that the source of the restoration of capitalism has not been eliminated, is shown by the fact that time and again elements hostile to the revolution and socialism emerge, not only from the ranks of the remnants of the former exploiting classes, but also from the ranks of the working people, and even from the ranks of the communists. The presence of the state, also, proves the existence of antagonistic contradictions and the absolute necessity for it as a weapon to resolve the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions correctly and prevent the latter from becoming antagonistic. Marx and Lenin have called the state the product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class contradictions.

For these reasons, the class struggle is waged to resolve antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. Someone might raise the question: «if the class struggle is waged also to resolve non-antagonistic contradictions, then it can be supposed that the class struggle must be permanent, because there will be non-antagonistic contradictions in communism, too».

The issue is clear: in socialism, even though the non-antagonistic contradictions are amongst the people, within the socialist order, they are, in the final account, contradictions of a **class** character, which still have the possibility of conversion into antagonistic contradictions, if they are not dealt with and resolved correctly. **In full communism, the contradictions will not have a class character**, hence they will no longer have the possibility of becoming antagonistic. Therefore, the class struggle is not permanent, it ceases when the classes disappear **completely**.

So, it is necessary to guard against underestimation or overestimation of the one or the other set of contradictions; it would not be correct to consider one set as of primary importance, and the other of secondary importance. Both antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions have

their own important place. Underestimation of one group to the detriment of the other causes misunderstandings and becomes a source for wrong attitudes and acts.

The question arises: where are the antagonistic contradictions mainly concentrated in the present stage? Opinions are expressed: in the ideological field, proceeding from the fact that this is a very wide and complicated front of the struggle for the resolution of the fundamental antagonistic contradiction. There are other opinions that the antagonistic contradictions are concentrated mainly in the political field, proceeding from the fact that the political struggle for the state power, as the fundamental question of the revolution, is the highest form of the class struggle, while in the ideological field we have mainly non-antagonistic contradictions, for here we have to do with alien concepts and manifestations among **our people**. In reality, we find antagonistic contradictions, like non-antagonistic contradictions, in all the main fields. The class enemy aims to weaken and eliminate not only the dictatorship of the proletariat and the national independence, but also the socialist economic order, and the proletarian ideology; it acts in the

three fields and in the three fields the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration exists; hence the class struggle is waged in the three fields, between us and the enemies, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology.

Therefore, the opinion according to which the contradictions of either group are centred in one or the other main field not only do not conform to the reality, but also lead to the weakening of the class struggle, which, according to the orientations of the 7th Congress of the Party, is complete and correct when it is waged frontally in all the fields and directions, over all issues in a combined way.

Such opinions may lead to the mixing up of contradictions, a thing which becomes the source of wrong attitudes and acts of an opportunist or sectarian character.

Our Party has always stressed that **the class struggle is waged in all fields** — political, economic, ideological. This fundamental thesis was reiterated and further enriched by the 7th Congress of the Party.

Prior to the 5th Congress there were discussions about the question: which is the main front of the class struggle?

On the basis of the 5th Congress of the Party, which declared that the class struggle «today is first of all an ideological struggle», sometimes the conclusion has been drawn that the ideological front is the main front of the class struggle. Our Party has always stressed, and the 5th Congress also stressed that «the struggle against enemies always remains a primary duty for the Party, the state and our working people», that «the struggle against bureaucracy is one of the main directions of the class struggle» and that «the class struggle is also the struggle against theft and misuse of the socialist property»¹. If there have been any signs of weakening of the class struggle in the political and economic fields, this has been the result mainly **of a superficial understanding and, in many instances, practice of the ideological struggle**, of its reduction, as Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized at the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee, to a struggle by means of lec-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 5th Congress of the PLA, The 5th Congress of the PLA, pp. 126, 136.

tures, conferences and slogans, whereas the ideological struggle leaves no field, problem and task unattacked, aims at the resolution of all political, economic, ideological, social, military, cultural and other problems and tasks.

The main thing for everybody is to understand and apply the lesson which the 7th Congress drew from our experience of the class struggle, that «...**unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete...** At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts. We should not forget that the enemy, too, wages his struggle in all directions: ideological, economic and political»¹. The class struggle is waged on all fronts, not only because the enemy wages his struggle in all directions, but, first of all, because **we are developing the revolution in all fields and directions**. Therefore, the three fundamental directions — ideological, political, economic — of the class struggle are very important. If the struggle

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 136 (bold type from the editor).

is weakened in one direction, the whole class struggle will be weakened and crippled.

The 7th Congress pointed out not only that it is necessary to wage the class struggle, and equally important, to wage it in all fields and directions, but also that **the three main forms of this struggle — political, economic, ideological, «are interconnected with and supplement one another»**. The class struggle is waged in this complex way because ideology, policy and economy are interwoven with one another.

In practice there is not and cannot be a simply ideological, simply political or simply economic struggle. The struggle in one field divorced from the struggle in the other field would no longer have any value.

Having the triumph of the communist ideology and morality as its objective **the ideological struggle** must be aimed, first and foremost, at the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the preservation, strengthening and development of the socialist property, proceeding from the standpoint that the political power is the fundamental question of the revolution, while the ultimate aim is the construction of communist relations of production. Outside

these objectives the communist ideology and morality can never triumph completely. Therefore the ideological struggle cannot be waged as a struggle in itself but it is developed as a struggle which creates profound socialist and revolutionary convictions in the people and which serves directly, on this basis, in the resolution of all the political, economic, cultural and military tasks of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

Having the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the national sovereignty as its objective, **the political struggle** achieves this objective only on the basis of profound socialist, patriotic and revolutionary convictions of the working people, as well as on the basis of a strong and developed socialist economy, which ensures rapid and all-round development of the productive forces and production. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the national independence can never last without their own socialist economic base and the proletarian ideological foundation. Therefore, the political struggle must not be just an administrative struggle, but must also be an ideological and economic struggle.

Having the preservation, strengthening and continuous development of the socialist mode of production as its objective, **the struggle in the economic field** achieves this objective only on the basis of a strong and stable proletarian power, of socialist democracy, of a sound alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, of the unity of the people, complete national independence, and also, only on the basis of the profound socialist revolutionary convictions of the working people. For this reason the struggle in the economic field is, at the same time, an ideological and political class struggle, too.

Meanwhile, the objectives in all directions are achieved only on the basis of the undivided leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, therefore the class struggle in all fields and directions must be aimed at the preservation and strengthening of this leadership without fail.

It is necessary to understand, also, that irrespective of the interconnection of all the main directions of the class struggle and the equally great importance of each of these directions, **until the classes and enemies are eliminated, the political struggle remains the highest form of this struggle**, in the sense that over no other question

does the class struggle become so severe and mount to such a climax, as over the question of state power. The socialist revolutionary upheavals, as well as the bourgeois revisionist counter-revolutionary upheavals, always begin with the state power. This is the source of the stern struggle that has always been waged, and which is being waged today between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists, over the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Socialist State Is The Most Powerful Weapon Of The Class Struggle.

The socialist state remains the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat until communism. The «theories» of the Titoites about the «withering away of the state» already, as well as the «theories» of the Khrushchevite revisionists about «the state of the entire people», are nothing but «theories» of the dying out of the class struggle, of the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin stressed that in order to go on to communism the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened and not weakened. Our Party of Labour has always followed these immortal teachings.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most powerful weapon of the class struggle in the hands of the working class and its party. To wage the class struggle correctly, it is important not only to accept that the socialist state, even after the elimination of the exploiting classes, for the entire period of transition to communism, remains the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also to define the functions of this state for the entire period correctly, on a class basis.

At the 4th Congress of the PLA, when the building of economic bases of socialism in town and countryside and the entry into a new stage, that of the complete construction of the socialist society, was announced, the Party made it clear that also in this stage the function of repression of the socialist state, along with the function of the defence of the Homeland, remained always «very important functions».

At the same time, the economic-organizational and cultural-educative role, which our proletarian state began to perform when it was set up, with the construction of the economic base of socialism deepened and extended further in the sphere of the activity of the socialist state.

But with this the importance of the function

of repression did not lower. As long as the antagonistic contradictions and the fierce class struggle between us and the enemies, between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist, the function of repression of the socialist state is neither eliminated, nor passes on a second plane.

Every function of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has its great importance. Its functions of organization and management of the economy and culture, education, suppression of the hostile and criminal activity, of the defence of the Homeland from the external enemy are exerted in unity, fulfil one another.

Overestimation or underestimation of the one function of the state to the detriment of the other has dangerous consequences. Underestimation of the function of repression or defence leads to the slackening of revolutionary vigilance and weakening of the class struggle against internal and external enemies. Underestimation of the economic-organizational and cultural-educative function also has catastrophic consequences for the complete construction of socialist society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat uses violence for the destruction of the old society and the construction of the new socialist society, de-

spite the resistance put up by the enemies (it acted in this way in the liquidation of the economic base of the big land proprietors, foreign and local capitalists, etc.).

Thus, we have the universal use of violence as a means of the class struggle to settle the issues of the revolution, while the level and forms of the violence depend on the level of the resistance of the enemies. Lenin has stressed, «The greater the extremes of the exploiters' resistance, the more vigorously, firmly, ruthlessly and successfully will they be suppressed...».¹ Hence, the level, forms and severity of the violence of the suppression, depend on the resistance and activity of the enemies, but not the universal use of violence.

The differentiated stand in waging the class struggle is also one of the essential elements of the revolutionary method of waging the class struggle. Our Party and the socialist state have always applied a differentiated class policy.

Differentiation is made not only between kulaks, elements of the former exploiting classes in general, anti-party elements, on the one hand,

¹ V.I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, p. 445 (Alb. ed.)

and their offspring in the other, but also between the enemies themselves. In conformity with the degree of culpability and the social danger they represent, one is left at large but kept under control, the other is imprisoned, one is sentenced to 2-3 years, another to 10 or 20 years, while still another is shot.

It is in our interests to have the minimum number of enemies, therefore efforts are made for their re-education, both when they are in prison, and when they are not, nevertheless the control, vigilance must never be slackened.

The question arises: Can it be said that the function of suppression is reduced parallel with the strengthening of the revolutionary education of the masses? This is linked with and dependent on the development of the class struggle in socialism.

The function of suppression has to do less with the **actual number** of enemies within the country, **than with the great danger** threatening the dictatorship of the proletariat and our socialist country from the internal and external enemies who are always linked in collaboration against us, as well as from liberalism, bureaucracy, and bourgeois-revisionist degeneration,

when those are not combatted directly and continuously.

Practice has proved that during the process of the development of the revolution, and the socialist construction, while one bunch of internal enemies are being eliminated or destroyed, other new enemies are emerging. If the class struggle is not waged correctly, hostile strata may emerge from individual enemies, reaching the point of the creation of a class of bourgeois enemies as occurred in the Soviet Union.

Therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat always keeps its weapons sharp and ready to suppress the enemies.

The decisive factor in waging the class struggle and the complete victory of socialism over capitalism and revisionism is the leadership of the working class headed by its own staff, the Communist Party.

History has charged the working class with the great mission of destroying bourgeois society, of the complete elimination of classes and the construction of classless, communist society. No one can carry out this task other than the class which is most interested in, and most capable, from every point, of liquidating the opposing

class, the bourgeoisie, and its offspring, imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionism.

How can this leadership be attained, how can it last and avoid being liquidated once it has been achieved, how can it remain always a revolutionary leadership — everything depends on this.

Now that a very great amount of experience has been accumulated, including both positive and negative experience, a more complete and accurate answer can be given to this question.

Seizing on what happened in the Soviet Union, where the new bourgeois-bureaucratic class seized the leadership and the political power from the hands of the working class, the ultra-revisionist servants of the bourgeoisie draw distorted conclusions, which serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, that allegedly the working class is not capable of leading the construction of socialist and communist society, that this task, in present day conditions, can be carried out only by the «new historic bloc», only by the «anti-imperialist alliance», «only the collective working people» headed by the intellectuals, that the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat are not only not essential, but are just as harmful as the bourgeois parties and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,

because they wipe out democracy, that the most appropriate form of socialism is allegedly the «self-administration socialism», «direct socialist democracy», that the working class, merged into the «collective working people», must lead directly without the mediation of the party and its dictatorship, that «the collective working people» can attain socialist consciousness directly from the great technical, scientific and social changes, without any need for the party, and other such nonsense.

Thus the class enemy makes use of the fact of the elimination of the socialist order and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union to reject Marxism-Leninism, to discredit socialism, to disorganize and paralyse the whole international workers' and communist movement.

In the Soviet Union the leadership of the working class and the socialist order were eliminated precisely because the application of Marxism-Leninism was abandoned; the proletarian class struggle was allowed to die down, the working class was elbowed out and robbed of its leadership and power.

This only goes to show the great and mortal dangers which threaten the leadership of the

working class and the socialist order at every step, the possibility of the elimination of this leadership and this order, if it does not remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, does not apply its principles with determination and in a creative way, and does not wage the class struggle ceaselessly and with revolutionary methods.

Our experience of the socialist construction not only shows the superficial nature of the anti-communist conclusions which are drawn from the negative experience of the Soviet Union, but also proves completely the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the hegemonic role of the working class and the class struggle.

The leading role of the working class has always been and still is the very essence of the policy of our Party. It has ensured this role through the implementation of its proletarian ideology and political line, even when our working class was small in numbers and still not formed as an industrial working class. With the creation of such a class in our country after liberation, with the increase of the socialist consciousness of this class, its leading role has been concretized and strengthened in all fields of life.

The leading role of the working class is in-

creasing and growing steadily stronger through the tempering of this class in the political, ideological and economic struggle for the development of the socialist revolution and the socialist construction of the country, as well as through the ideo-political work of the Party to make the working class as conscious as possible of its great historic role.

The leadership of the working class is preserved, increased and strengthened continuously in the struggle against the dangers which threaten this leadership. Liberalism, bureaucracy, technocratism, intellectualism are great dangers of this sort.

It is of decisive importance that the working class and its Party never allow the cadres to become bureaucratic and degenerate, never allow the emergence of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, as in the Soviet Union, where the bureaucratized and degenerate cadres, the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, seized the leadership from the hands of the working class. «In the Soviet Union,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «the cadres, naturally the bad cadres — carried out the counter-revolution... Cadres have their place, their role, but they must not impose their law on the Party, but

the Party and the class must impose their law on them... The cadres must understand this hegemony of the Party and its class correctly from the ideological angle and fight for the implementation of principles in practice»¹.

From this, our Party draws the conclusion that the **working class with its ally, the working peasantry, must carry out continuous revolutionary education and tempering of all leading cadres and all officials** of the state, the economy, culture, the Party, must not allow them to become degenerate and bourgeois, and must constantly call them to account; and demand that they always remain proletarians in their ideology and activity, must place them in such material conditions that there will be no possibility of the creation of privileged strata, which give rise to the new bourgeoisie, must severely criticize those who make mistakes, and, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «should break the noses and bones»² of those who want to impose their law

¹ Enver Hoxha, Contribution to the Discussion at the Meeting of the Secretariat of CC of the PLA, March 26, 1975, Central Archives of the Party.

² Enver Hoxha, Contribution to the Discussion at the Meeting of the Secretariat of CC of the PLA, April 4, 1975,

on the working class and the other working masses.

Our Party has made a valuable contribution on the question of the realization of the leadership of the working class in socialism by means of the direct workers' and peasants' control. «The Party,» instructs Comrade Enver Hoxha, «must give the working class pride of place in running things and exercising control, and the officials must implement the tasks the Party and dictatorship of the class sets them properly. The workers' control means the workers' vigilance in action, the dictatorship of the class in action. The workers' control is the class in leadership, it is the means of rectifying the mistakes and distortions of bureaucratic officials. The workers' control is the uncovering and severe punishment of enemy work and those who do it»¹.

But great care must be taken **not to confuse the direct workers' control and the direct participation of the masses in government with the «direct» leadership of the working class, as**

Central Archives of the Party.

¹ Enver Hoxha, Contribution to the Discussion at the Meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, April 4, 1975, Central Archives of the Party.

has sometimes occurred when there has been talk of «direct» leadership of the class, along the leadership through the Party and through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to the classics of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of all revolutionary experience, **the working class exercises its hegemonic role in the revolution through its own party, as well as through the dictatorship of the proletariat**, when it succeeds to establish the proletarian power. In the course of history, no class has been able to rule and lead directly, but only through political organizations and parties or its own state.

Thus the expression «direct leadership» of the working class must not be used. The direct participation of the masses in government and the direct control are not «direct leadership». They are realized under the leadership of the Party and have as their aim the preservation and strengthening of the proletarian character of our State and Party, the complete implementation of the proletarian line of the Party and its programmatic tasks, and of the functions and plans of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to remain always a party of the

working class and never degenerate, like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and many other communist and workers' parties, into an anti-communist and anti-worker party, it is the duty of the Party to put itself under the permanent control of the working class and the other working masses, and work with all its forces to raise the level of their consciousness, especially that of the working class, as nearly as possible to its own level of consciousness.

That party which divorces itself from the working class and places itself above it, which only speaks on behalf of the class, which does not remain always an inseparable part of the class, its vanguard unit, which does not aim at and does not succeed in achieving the leadership of the class in practice, which does not make the working class and the whole people conscious and mobilize them to build socialism themselves and to defend what they build, cannot be called a genuine party of the working class. And if it is so at the beginning, it soon will degenerate into a bourgeois-revisionist party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The masses build socialism, the

Party makes them conscious»¹.

All our experience confirms that it is only under the leadership of a genuine party of the working class that the revolutionary and creative energies of the working masses can flower and burst out with all their force, that these masses can become fully conscious in the struggle for their social liberation, complete masters of their own fate, fully capable of destroying the old world of oppression, exploitation, misery and darkness and building the new world of freedom, independence, progress, socialism, with their own hands.

«Nothing can happen to the socialist country,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, **«if the Party is on its toes, as strong as the steel, vigilant and fearless. Nothing can happen to our socialist country, if our Party remains as it is, an ‘organized vanguard detachment of the working class’»².**

The organic connection of the class strug-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Speech in Mat, February 1972, Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973, p. 16.

² Enver Hoxha, Closing Speech at the 6th Plenum of the PLA, 1974, Central Archives of the Party.

gle with the other motive forces of socialist society is an essential condition for the correct waging of this struggle.

To wage the class struggle correctly and with complete success means, among other things, that every progressive force, every revolutionary energy, every other motive force within the country, must be evaluated correctly from the class standpoint, and used in favour of socialism and the revolution.

There are many such forces in every country. The motive forces are of varying social, political and moral character.

Our Party has wide experience in the class use of the inexhaustible progressive and revolutionary social, political and moral forces, of every motive force in the ranks of our people, for the good of the revolution and socialism, for the good of the people.

A major **moral** motive force is the traditional patriotism of the Albanian people. In the class struggle in the heat of the revolution, under the influence of the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party, the class character of this patriotism has been reinforced immensely, and has been imbued with the proletarian socialist element.

A major **social** motive force has been and remains the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, historically created and forged by the Party in the heat of the struggle for national liberation, for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. This alliance has become ever stronger as more revolutionary socialist, economic, social, ideological, educational and cultural transformations have been made in the countryside.

A major **political** motive force has been and still is the unity of the people around the Party. All the progressive, revolutionary social, political and moral forces of the people are blended in this unity.

The waging of the class struggle in our country cannot be taken separately from the patriotism, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and the unity of the people round the Party, just as patriotism, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and the unity of the people cannot be considered outside the class struggle. There is a reciprocal connection and interdependence between them, in the sense that the class struggle from our side can be waged correctly and triumph only if it is

based strongly on the patriotism, the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, and on the unity of the people, just as the latter can be preserved and strengthened only on the basis of the class struggle, and the proletarian policy and leadership of the Party. Therefore, only by keeping this reciprocal connection and interdependence in mind can correct stands be assumed and mistakes of an opportunist or sectarian character be avoided in the practical activity of the party organs and basic organizations, the state and economic organs, the mass organizations, cadres and communists.

The revolutionary methods which the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat use in their leading — political, ideological, economic, cultural, etc. activity, in their educational and organizational work, are also very important motive forces.

One of these forces is criticism and self-criticism. It constitutes a powerful weapon to uncover, attack and correct shortcomings and mistakes, to destroy the regressive old and to open the way for the revolutionary new, for the revolutionary education of the people. Without criticism and self-criticism, socialist democracy can-

not be achieved and neither can the class struggle in the ranks of the people be waged correctly.

Each motive force necessarily has its own political, economic and ideological basis, therefore the class struggle for their continuous strengthening must necessarily be political, economic and ideological, too, must be, at the same time, class struggle against enemies and class struggle in the ranks of the people, for the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the Homeland, for the preservation, strengthening and development of the socialist property, for the increase of the socialist consciousness in men.

These were some questions of the revolutionary policy of our Party about the class struggle on the internal front. The implementation of the ideas and decisions of the 7th Congress about the class struggle will certainly enable us to wage this struggle better and with greater results than until now.

In all the questions stressed here, **one element which is very important in the correct waging of the class struggle is the elimination of one-sidedness in understanding and waging**

this struggle. One-sidedness in the class struggle always leads to mistakes, to distortions of the line of the Party. In practical activity there are many manifestations of one-sidedness in the class struggle. The question of the struggle against opportunism is raised and sectarian stands appear; the question of the struggle against liberalism is raised and concessions are made to conservatism; implementation of the line of the masses is demanded and discipline at work is forgotten; one question is stressed and the other is forgotten.

One-sidedness is not reconcilable with the materialist dialectics, on which the revolutionary line of the Party has been built, hence with the line of the Party. One-sidedness is metaphysical. In the decisions and directives of the Party, in the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the ideas and decisions of the 7th Congress, the various aspects of the class struggle are always found in unity, in dialectical interconnection. In order to avoid deviations, incorrect interpretation, narrow understanding and incomplete implementation of the class struggle, as much as possible in practical activity, it is necessary, first of all, to wage the class struggle within the ranks of the

Party and everywhere, constantly and with the greatest determination, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings and rich experience of our Party, especially on the basis of the conclusions drawn and the tasks set by the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th plenums of the Central Committee and the 7th Congress of the Party.

II

THE PROLETARIAN STAND OF THE PLA FOR THE CORRECT DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE ON AN INTERNATIONAL PLANE

All the class struggle that has been and is being waged consistently and successfully in our country, under the leadership of the PLA, has not been and could not be conceived as a struggle confined within the limits of the problems of this country alone, as a class struggle of only a national character and importance. On the contrary, in our country the class struggle **has been and is a very important component part of the whole general process of the fierce class struggle that is being waged on a world scale.**

Upholding the proletarian principles of class struggle faithfully and resolutely, our Party has always constructed its policy so that it will actively serve the great cause of the revolution. This, it has done and is doing in two directions, by successfully and consistently pushing ahead the construction of socialism in Albania, which also is a victory of the revolution on an international plane, and by following a correct revolutionary foreign policy in such a way as to actively assist the cause of the proletariat, the struggle of the peoples, and the progress of the revolution with every stand and action it takes.

Right from the time it was founded, our Party has made its correct assessments of international events and has taken a principled stand towards them, by viewing them always from the class angle, from the angle of the interests of the revolution and socialism.

Likewise, in the process of developing and leading the class struggle within the country, the PLA has always proceeded from the internationalist principle that **a communist party can be in a sound position only when it sees its own struggle and efforts as closely linked with the struggle and efforts of the entire international**

workers' and Marxist-Leninist movement, a struggle that has as its aim the triumph of revolution and socialism, the consistent defence and implementation of the proletarian ideology, the uncompromising fight against modern revisionism and any kind of opportunism, their complete unmasking, exposure and destruction.

«Facing imperialism, social-imperialism and their savage aggressive and expansionist activity, facing the bourgeoisie, the international monopolies and their barbarous exploitation, facing reaction and its violence and terror», stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party, «with multiplied forces stand the world proletariat and the staunch revolutionaries, the peoples that are struggling for freedom and democracy, for socialism»¹. The clash between these opposing forces is a fierce class struggle that is developing and includes all countries and all aspects of present-day society.

In the final analysis the dialectics of the development of the class struggle will certainly lead

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp. 185-186.

to the triumph of the cause of the proletariat all over the world. However **to leave the fate of the future to spontaneity, to sit idly by waiting for the class struggle to develop in favour of the proletariat spontaneously, means, as Lenin put it, «to die waiting».**

Experience has confirmed, over and over again, that there are many instances when, in one country or in several countries simultaneously, **the objective conditions are created for the revolution**, the contradictions among the antagonistic classes become sharpened to the maximum, the situation is ripe for the revolution, that is, the ruling classes cannot govern as before and the oppressed classes or the oppressed peoples can no longer tolerate the oppression and exploitation, yet the revolution does not break out, or even if it does, it fails and is drowned in blood.

This brings out forcefully the very great importance for the waging of the class struggle and its successful outcome, **of the subjective factor**. In particular, **the existence of the proletarian party**, proletarian not only in name, but, in the first place, in its Marxist-Leninist line and activity, in its very close links with the masses and its ability to lead them in revolution, **constitutes**

the decisive condition and the number one subjective factor for the successful development and outcome of the class struggle in general, and of the proletarian revolution in particular.

The experience of the development and the crowning with success of our people's revolution is the best confirmation of this. The newly-founded Communist Party of Albania was at the necessary level to be able to understand, analyse and exploit the situations created in Albania following the fascist occupation. In struggle against both the opportunist views of those factionalist elements who wanted to postpone the question of the people's revolution «until the great day comes» and the «Trotskyite-extremist formulas» of others who, with «ultra-revolutionary phrases», were playing the game of fascism, the Communist Party of Albania knew how to define and consistently implement a clear and correct political, ideological and organizational line. This was the line of the struggle for the mobilization and organization of the entire people in the National Liberation Front, of laying the foundations of the new people's power in the fire of the war for freedom and independence, the line of organizing the general armed uprising and

creating the National Liberation Army, the line of correctly combining the struggle for national freedom and independence with the struggle for social liberation from any kind of oppression and exploitation. As a result of the consistent implementation of this Marxist-Leninist line, a great historic victory was achieved — the liberation of the Homeland once and for all, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the gradual transformation of Albania from a feudal-bourgeois country into a socialist one, successfully bypassing the stage of developed capitalism.

This then, is the great and decisive importance that the subjective factor has for the development of the class struggle and its successful outcome from the standpoint of the proletariat!

In the development of the class struggle, the subjective factor is the reliable means with which the proletariat and the peoples cope with the apparatus of oppression and propaganda which the imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie employs against their revolutionary struggle, to prolong its life to the maximum. Now more than ever before, the imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie has pinned its hopes on the means of violence and terror, diversion and armed intervention. In par-

ticular, it is using the struggle on the ideological front in order to carry out subversion of the socialist countries, through degeneration to disorientate the proletariat and the peoples, to poison their consciousness, to impede the organization and preparation of the masses for revolution, especially, to attack the political and ideological staffs of the proletariat, the communist parties, and bring about their degeneration. This is nothing but the class struggle which imperialism wages from its own standpoint.

The transformation of the Soviet Union into an aggressive social-imperialist state seeking hegemony, the going over of the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, to the imperialist front has made the class struggle of the proletariat, of the peoples and of the true Marxist-Leninist parties much fiercer and more complicated.

In order to justify their betrayal and conceal it from the proletariat and the peoples, as well as to deceive them more thoroughly, the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, and all the other opportunists have been obliged to fight, are fighting, and will always fight, to find some alleged theoretical backing for their ac-

tions and to peddle it as «the last word in Marxism», as the «creative development of Marxism in the present-day conditions».

They have always tried to present their general line of betrayal as a result of the «deep-going changes» that have allegedly occurred in the content of our epoch.

Precisely over this problem, i.e., **the correct definition of the content of our epoch**, a very fierce struggle has been and is being waged between Marxism-Leninism, on one hand, and modern revisionism and opportunists of all trends, on the other. Our Party of Labour upholds the definition that, **our epoch**, the principal content of which consists of the transition from capitalism to socialism, «**is the epoch of the struggle of two opposing social system, the epoch of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism, and the liquidation of the colonial system, the epoch of other peoples taking the road to socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale**»¹.

¹ The History of the PLA, p. 369 (bold type from the

A correct understanding of the character and content of our epoch and its motive forces, constitutes a basic condition for every Marxist-Leninist party to draw up a correct political and ideological line, a consistent revolutionary strategy and tactics. That is to say, the line, the strategy and tactics of a party (or of several parties) are, or should be, determined from the correct understanding of a given epoch, from its content, while the objective content of this epoch does not depend (nor can it depend) on the strategy, or even less, on the wishes of one or several parties. In the case of all the present-day revisionist parties, they want to present their totally wrong and anti-Marxist strategies and tactics as allegedly built on the basis of their understanding of the character of our epoch, whereas they are simply fabricating such «theories» as suit their interests on the basis of their pragmatic policies. The revisionists and opportunists of all times have committed and continue to commit abuses precisely in this direction. Their political opportunism leads them to «scientific» charlatanism, in their attempts to present the objective social real-

editor).

ity and its processes in a distorted light and to draw wrong, anti-revolutionary conclusions from it.

In its struggle against these distortions, the PLA has always emphasized that the only scientific criterion in order to understand the content of our epoch correctly is the **class analysis, class assessment, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist science, of the essential events and phenomena of the epoch, and its motive forces.** The starting point for this is the Leninist analysis of the principal contradictions of the epoch, of the stage they have reached, of the struggle that is being waged and should be waged for their resolution, which also determines the content of the epoch itself.

After the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin and Stalin wrote in their works about the following principal contradictions of the epoch:

The contradiction between socialism and capitalism, the contradiction between labour and capital, hence between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; the contradictions among the imperialist powers, among the monopolies.

For the historical epoch we are living in, the fundamental contradiction is that between socialism and capitalism. **In the socialist countries**, this contradiction expresses itself in the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road; **in the capitalist revisionist countries**, it expresses itself in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; **on a world plane**, it expresses itself in the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

The objective reality, in all its aspects, has confirmed and is confirming that **today, far from disappearing and becoming milder, these contradictions have become even deeper and more acute.**

Confronting each other, are two sets of opposing forces:

On one side stand the socialist countries and the world proletariat, as the **principal social force** of the great cause of the revolution and socialism and, shoulder to shoulder with them, the oppressed peoples, or those in danger of being oppressed, all the revolutionary, progressive and freedom-loving forces.

On the other side stand U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, as the chief ene-

mies of the peoples and socialism, and along with them, the other imperialist and revisionist powers, the monopoly bourgeoisie, the fascist forces, all international reaction and revisionism.

The profound class analysis made by the 7th Congress of the PLA of the present-day situation in the world, the mounting struggle of the proletariat, the peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties, on one hand, as well as of the attempts of imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction to strengthen their oppressive and exploitative order, on the other hand, confirmed once more that «as a social system, capitalism can never escape its contradictions and its ills, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium»¹. Failure to take this objective reality into account, but to propagate, in opposition to it, the commencement of «détente», «easing of tension», «peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism», to claim that «imperialism has become more reasonable and has been tamed», that we are living in an epoch of «universal interna-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 191.

tional harmony» and «general security», that «U.S. imperialism is in decline and does not constitute the same danger as it did», etc. etc., as the Khrushchevite modern revisionists and the others have been doing is not, conceivably, a mere «theoretical error», an accidental slip from the positions of Marxist-Leninist science. The distorted presentation of the content of our historical epoch by the modern revisionists and the other opportunists has been and is deliberate, in order to quell the class struggle of the proletariat, so that it does not rise in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, revisionism and reaction, but reconciles itself to the situation, and stands docile accepting the yoke of oppression and exploitation to the end. «From this», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «also stems the other mistaken conclusion that Leninism is allegedly obsolete, that is, fundamental theses on imperialism, classes and class struggle, the state and revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat have become outdated»¹.

Always standing loyal to Marxism-Leninism, throughout its existence, the PLA has encoun-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 488 (Alb. ed.).

tered such anti-communist theories and practices, has analysed them from sound class positions and has attacked them resolutely, without the slightest hesitation.

Our Party has accumulated especially intensive experience in this direction from its fight against Khrushchevite revisionism as the ruling ideology and practice of a great power that stands at the head of the modern revisionist front. The PLA has always made a proper Marxist-Leninist analysis of such notorious «theories» bearing the brand of the Soviet revisionists, as those on the state and the party «of the whole people», «peaceful co-existence» with anybody at all and in any direction, a world «without armies, without weapons and without wars», «the peaceful revolution», «limited sovereignty», etc. etc., has revealed their anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary essence, and exposed them openly and ruthlessly. Our Party has never toned down its fight in this direction, nor will it do so in the future because it is very well aware that Soviet revisionism «represents the most complete and highly elaborated ‘theory’ and practice of the revisionist counter-revolution, which has revised the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields and on

all questions», that, «the ‘Khrushchevite theories’ represent a consciously chosen course for the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism»¹.

All the other bourgeois and revisionist theories, such as that of the Yugoslav revisionists about «workers’ self-administration», or those on «consumer society», «intermediate non-capitalist development», the «society of the technical-scientific revolution», etc., also serve these counter-revolutionary aims.

Likewise, the «new concept» of the content of our epoch according to the so-called «theory of three worlds», analysed and assessed from a class angle, is nothing but a **theory of the dying out of the class struggle**, a theory that covers up the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, that causes confusion and disorganization, that creates illusions in the ranks of the proletariat, the peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the first place, the so-called «theory of three worlds», like its twin sisters that speak of the «non-aligned countries», the «developing

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp. 266-267.

countries», etc., is not based on Marxist-Leninist class criteria in the grouping of countries.

«In the world today,» wrote Lenin, «there are two worlds: the old world — capitalism — which is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the emerging new world, which is still very weak but which will grow, for it is invincible»¹. As can be seen. Lenin makes this division of the world basing himself on the class criterion, on given economic-social orders which are diametrically opposed to each other, because the relations of production themselves, on which these orders are built, are entirely different from, and opposed to, each other, just as the classes that stand at the head of these orders are diametrically opposed to each other.

While erasing the class boundaries in the division of the world, the «theory of three worlds» draws no conclusion in regard to the revolution. On the contrary, it ignores the revolution. For example, according to this «theory», among the countries of the so-called «third world» there are dependent countries, capitalist countries or countries ruled by fascism as well as socialist

¹ V.I. Lenin, Works, vol. 33, pp. 153-154 (Alb. ed.),

countries. Under this theory, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, as the fundamental contradiction of our epoch at a national and international level, does not exist, has been eliminated. The supporters of this «theory» «justify» this, also, with the fact that, after the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in a series of other countries which were formerly socialist, the socialist camp no longer exists.

But can it be said that, with the going over of the Soviet Union and a number of countries of people's democracy to the side of the counter-revolution, socialism was wiped out as a socio-economic system? By no means! Socialism is alive, growing steadily stronger and more consolidated in the true socialist countries. It is the inevitable future of human society and there is no force which can eliminate it, there is no force which can stop its triumph on a world scale.

Proceeding from this reality, the true Marxist-Leninists do not divide the world on the basis of blocs, but on the basis of economic-social systems. This criterion has been and is unshakable, even if only one socialist country exists in the world. Lenin himself, in saying that, «There are two worlds in the world today», had in mind a

whole capitalist world and, confronting it, a single socialist country — the Soviet Russia of that time. Hence to adopt the so-called «theory of three worlds» means to distort the teachings of Lenin in the most flagrant manner, to have no confidence in the inevitable triumph of socialism.

To follow or implement this «theory» in a socialist country means to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat, to undermine the victories of socialism. To propagate this «theory» means to call on the international proletariat not to fight or rise in revolution, not to fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but to submit to exploitation of the big capitalist monopolies, means to call on the peoples not to rise in struggle against the rule of reactionary regimes, like those of Pinochet, the Shah of Iran and some others like them, but to accept their slaving.

The all-pervading bourgeois-revisionist propaganda has been mobilized as never before in the service of the strategy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in order to quell the class struggle of the proletariat for the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of

the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to reduce the objective of this struggle to such claims as the bloodthirsty rulers permit and approve. One side is telling the proletariat to reconcile itself to the situation because it will go to socialism through the «democratic freedoms which the bourgeois order guarantees», others publicize «fraternization despite divergencies»; here it is told not to rise in revolution, because «if the superpower balance is upset the atomic bomb will go off», there it is advised to bend its back and tighten its belt to overcome the crisis»; on one hand it is recommended to support the bourgeois governments and armies, NATO and the European Common Market, in order «to defend its country against the social-imperialist threat», on the other hand it is called on to support the revisionist clique of its own country, Soviet social-imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty in order «to defend the Homeland against the imperialist threat». According to the modern revisionists and the other opportunists, it is precisely these things that are problems of the day for the international proletariat and not proletarian revolution.

The true Marxist-Leninists see this cardinal problem quite differently. To them, **the ques-**

tion of the revolution is on the order of the day. «The world is at a stage,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party, «when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution»¹.

As has been stressed, all the principal contradictions of our epoch have now sharpened to the maximum. And, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, they lead inevitably to revolution. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present-day situation shows that, everywhere, both in the developed capitalist countries and in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have just won their freedom or are fighting colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialist intervention, the objective conditions have been created for the proletarian revolution or the democratic liberation revolution. Hence the above conclusion of the 7th Congress of the Party does not represent a subjective «desire» but is a conclusion that stems from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of concrete ac-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 186.

tual situations. The modern revisionists and the various opportunists make the accusation that the true Marxist-Leninists allegedly «do not take the situations into account», that they «want to skip stages», that they are «impatient», and put forward only the «question of the proletarian revolution», and so on and so forth. These are the well-worn old tactics resorted to by all scabs. In fact it is not they, but the true Marxist-Leninist parties that make the necessary distinction between «ultra-leftist» slogans and the objective development of events. «Those who want to accelerate the development of events artificially,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «are lacking in correct Marxist-Leninist judgement because the revolution is not organized and carried out in one day. It is not a wedding party, but a great people's war. However, the Marxist-Leninists are not afraid to fight,... on the contrary, in war and revolution they become stronger and more indomitable»¹.

The true Marxist-Leninist parties always take careful account of the stages of the revolution and have supported both the proletarian revolutions

¹ Enver Hoxha, Conversation with Comrade Pedro Pomar, August 18, 1965, «Rruga e Partisë», № 2, 1977, p. 18.

and the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and the democratic revolutions everywhere in the world, with all their might, considering them as extremely important and irreplaceable factors in the development of the world revolutionary process, as links in the chain of the proletarian revolution. The Party of Labour of Albania has always been on the side of the peoples that fight for freedom and national independence. «The progressive peoples and the democratic states that... struggle to establish their national sovereignty over their resources, that struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and justice in international relations,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «enjoy the solidarity and full support of the Albanian people and State»¹.

What the opportunists are really after is not to «rescue» the stages of the revolution, but precisely to extinguish, to avoid the revolution itself. They chant the slogan of «patience», because allegedly «conditions» for the revolution have not been created. In reality, the conditions for the

¹ Enver Hoxha, Speech at the People's Assembly, December 27, 1976.

revolution exist and are maturing day by day. The proletariat is being increasingly subjected to most savage exploitation and oppression, every day it is seeing the cost of living mount, threatened with joining the army of the unemployed, forced to make innumerable sacrifices. This situation is convincing the proletariat that, **in order to put an end to the never-ending sacrifices the time has come for it to make the «supreme sacrifice»: to raise in revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

Another fact makes the all-round preparation of the proletariat for the revolution even more essential; there is a real danger that another world war may break out. It is the duty of the proletariat to struggle against an aggressive war and it must do this, but when this war becomes inevitable, the proletariat should turn it into a revolution. But this cannot be done in one day, nor can it be done without systematic prior preparation, without a high level of revolutionary consciousness, mobilization and organization, without the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

The genius Marx discovered the historic mission of the proletariat as the most revolutionary class that stands at the centre of our epoch. This

mission and this objective reality cannot be covered up by any demagoguery or bourgeois and revisionist «theory».

The bourgeois ideologists and the modern revisionists, as well as the opportunists of every hue have long been bringing out other «theories» which deny the proletariat this mission.

Some of them leave this mission in the hands of the «technocrats» or the «intermediate strata», whereas others leave it in the hands of kings and emirs, reactionary governments and fascists, **who, in the countries** where they are in power, according to the «theory» of the «third world», have **allegedly become «the revolutionary motive force that drives the wheel of history forward!»**

And after all this, these «theoreticians» declare that they remain loyal to the theory of Marx and Lenin! To what extent is this true? «The main thing in Marx's doctrine,» says Lenin, «is the elucidation of the world historic role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society»¹.

Hence it is clear that the opportunists have

¹ V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, 1958, vol. 1, p. 17 (Alb. ed.).

distorted and discarded the **main thing** in Marx's doctrine, the historic mission of the proletariat as the most revolutionary force in society.

The creation and strengthening of alliances against imperialism and reaction, and particularly, against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, is a task facing the proletariat, the peoples, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

Of decisive importance for a correct orientation on this problem, as on any other problem or phenomenon, is the establishment of the clear class criterion: **alliance with whom and for what?** — this is how the Marxist-Leninists present the question. Proceeding from this correct criterion, it is evident that to the Marxist-Leninists it is altogether alien and extremely harmful to call for an alliance that denies the proletariat its hegemonic role in the revolution, that is not centred on the proletariat as the main social motive force of the epoch, that does not establish a definite criterion of the division between the proletariat and the reactionary bourgeoisie, between the peoples fighting for freedom and independence and the fascist regimes, the clergy, the dregs of the society (the lumpen elements), etc., but

lumps them all together. «According to the doctrine of socialism, i.e. Marxism... the true motive force of history is the revolutionary struggle of classes,» says Lenin. «According to the doctrine of bourgeois philosophers, the motive force of progress is the solidarity of all elements of the society... The former doctrine is materialist, the latter is idealist... The former supports the tactics of the proletariat in the present-day capitalist countries, the latter the tactics of the bourgeoisie»¹.

The champions of anti-Marxist «theories» in regard to alliances try to present their preachings as «Marxist-Leninist» that the proletariat and the peoples must create in their struggle, but in reality such views of theirs are far from being Marxist-Leninist.

They call for «alliances» among different «worlds» and countries, but they «forget» that in those so-called «worlds» and countries there are peoples, classes and class interests diametrically opposed to one another. Hence, first the opportunists wipe out the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, divert the attention of the proletariat from its preparation for

¹ V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 11, p. 66 (Alb. ed.).

revolution. Second, in the so-called «alliances» that the opportunists recommend, the hegemonic and leading role that the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party should play is not taken into account; on the contrary this role either remains altogether undefined or is divided among different classes and parties. The positions of Marxism-Leninism in connection with this problem are the complete opposite. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that, for the attainment of its strategic aims, **the true Marxist-Leninist party must employ skilful revolutionary tactics, must win over the natural allies of the proletariat and secure their support, must exploit the contradictions that arise among the imperialist powers and set up alliances with those forces or classes which, even for a limited time and to a limited extent, are interested in the revolution. But,**» Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «at the same time this party must not lose its individuality, enter every sort of front and destroy itself, on the contrary it should always preserve its independence, principles and norms. It must, without fail, achieve its hegemonic role in the revolution through struggle and its correct policy... But no one will give

you hegemony, it must be won»¹.

Throughout its history the PLA has consistently upheld these principles. In the years of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War it exploited the contradictions created as a result of the nazi-fascist aggression correctly and accepted the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, coordinating the struggle of the Albanian people with the struggle of the other peoples against the nazi and fascist occupiers. But, at the same time, our Party knew how to make the proper distinction between the Soviet Union, on one hand, and the Anglo-Americans, on the other, it knew, also, how to keep its independence and that of the Albanian people intact in the framework of the anti-fascist alliance. It never allowed the struggle of the Albanian people to be made dependent on the orders of the Allied Mediterranean Command, to be led and exploited by it. And later, when the Anglo-Americans under the guise of «allies», requested permission to send their forces into Albania, our Communist Party took the only stand towards them that it could take: it did

¹ From a conversation, 1967, Central Archives of the Party.

not permit other occupiers, the Anglo-American imperialists, to supplant the nazi occupiers.

In regard to alliances, the PLA followed a flexible and always principled policy on the internal plane, too, during the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War. Right from the beginning of the war in our country, it called on the entire people without distinction as to class, religion and ideology, to unite in a single front in the struggle against the foreign invaders and did great work to win over all those who were interested in the freedom and independence of Albania. But along with this, our Party kept its independence, its leading role in the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Front and the hegemonic role of the working class in revolution, complete and intact. The Communist Party of Albania did not accept or permit its responsibility for the struggle and the new people's power that was being created in the fire of this struggle to be shared with anyone else. The resolute and immediate condemnation by the leadership of the Party of the notorious Mukje compromise is an example in this direction.

In advocating various «alliances», the «creation of an anti-imperialist front», the modern re-

visionists and the other opportunists who call for the «unity of various countries» allegedly in struggle against the two superpowers, but, in fact, against one of them, claim that in this manner they are exploiting **the inter-imperialist contradictions**.

The supporters of the so-called «theory of three worlds», for example, call on the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which, according to them, constitute the «third world», to unite with such capitalist countries as England, France, West Germany or Japan, which, according to them, constitute the «second world», in order, allegedly, to face up to the threat from the two superpowers which constitute the «first world», but in fact to face up to the threat from only one of them, Soviet social-imperialism. However, among other things, you have only to read the speech of the President of the United States, Carter, at the summit meeting of the representatives of fifteen of the most developed industrial capitalist countries, which was held in London recently, or to follow the so-called North-South dialogue that was held in Paris between some developed countries of the «second world» and some developing countries of the

«third world», to see for yourself on what weak, non-class foundations the «theories» of the division into «three worlds», the illusions and the absurdities about the alliances among these «worlds» have been built.

To define correctly which is the principal enemy on an international level in a given historical period is of capital importance, if you are to follow a correct revolutionary foreign policy.

The view of our Party on this question has always been clear. The 7th Congress of the Party once again expressed the view that: «Today U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the two superpowers, are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples, and as such, they pose the same danger»¹.

This conclusion has been drawn from a Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the objective international conditions, of the fundamental contradictions on a world scale.

The 7th Congress of the Comintern in 1935 defined as the main enemy of the peoples, at that

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 219.

time, fascism, represented by nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan. That fascism was the principal enemy of the peoples was thoroughly confirmed in the Second World War.

Following the Second World War, the forum of the international communist movement, which was the Information Bureau, defined U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of the peoples, a thesis that was re-emphasized at the first Moscow Meeting of 1957 and at the Second Moscow Meeting of 1960, despite all the efforts which the Khrushchevite revisionists made to avoid this definition.

When the Soviet Union was transformed from a socialist country into a revisionist capitalist and social-imperialist country apart from U.S. imperialism, another main enemy was added, thus making two main, equally dangerous enemies of the revolution, socialism and the peoples.

We say that it is a mistake to declare that at the present day there are not two main enemies to the peoples, but only one — Soviet social-imperialism, that it is more dangerous than U.S. imperialism, because, allegedly, only Soviet social-imperialism wants war whereas U.S. imperialism allegedly does not want war, because it is alleg-

edly weakened and wishes only to preserve the status quo. Such a thesis is not only incorrect but is very harmful to the revolution and the peoples.

Our entire party and people support the correct Marxist-Leninist conclusion of the 7th Congress of the Party that «each, separated or together, of the two superpowers represent in the same degree and to the same extent the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war»¹.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have not had, do not have and never will have, the slightest illusion about the aggressive hegemonic and expansionist nature of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

If it is not always kept in mind, **in principle and in practice** at every instant, **that the two** superpowers are the **main enemies** of socialism and the peoples today; to forget this great truth leads

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 195.

to catastrophic consequences for one or the other Marxist-Leninist party, for one or the other country or people.

It does occur that a given country is oppressed or threatened more directly by one of the two superpowers, but this does not mean that the other superpower is less of an enemy, or no enemy at all, to that country. Each superpower fights the revolution and socialism with might and main to prevent them from triumphing in any country, wherever it may be. Likewise, each of them is poised ready to establish its own imperialist domination immediately over whatever country manages to break away from the other superpower.

Life is confirming more clearly day by day that the new superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, is employing all means and methods to penetrate everywhere in the world, to secure markets and large spheres of influence, to compete «as a worthy partner» with the other superpower, to quarrel with it over its own interests and, at the same time, to unite with it in their fight against the peoples, the proletariat and the proletarian revolution. But, while making a correct assessment of the aggressive nature of this superpower,

the PLA has never been, nor is it of the opinion that the other superpower, U.S. imperialism, has become less dangerous, has grown weaker, therefore, so that, as the opportunists claim, you may neglect the struggle against it, or even can rely on it! For the PLA, both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are equally dangerous, equally savage and aggressive, hence one must not rely either on the one or the other, or on the other imperialist and revisionists states, faithful allies of these two superpowers.

Only by having a correct appreciation and a thorough understanding from the strategic viewpoint that the main enemies of socialism and the peoples in our days are the two superpowers can one follow a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist foreign policy.

Only on the basis of this correct appreciation and understanding which is based on the real state of things can the class struggle be conducted correctly on the external front, can this struggle be spearheaded against the two superpowers as the main enemies of socialism and the peoples, never divorcing the struggle against the one superpower from the struggle against the other.

This is the only way to avoid opportunist

mistakes, such as ceasing or reducing the political and ideological struggle against one or the other superpower, or relying on one imperialism to fight the other, or defining the attitude to be taken towards one or other international event, or one or other international conflict, not from the class standpoint, but from pragmatic and utilitarian positions, always siding with the forces opposing the one superpower, even when these opposing forces are manipulated or directed by the other superpower and are ultra-reactionary.

Attacking the theories and actions of opportunists about their alleged exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions, the Party of Labour of Albania has stressed:

First, the exploiting of inter-imperialist contradictions should be regarded only as an auxiliary and temporary factor for the country or countries in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed. As life is continually proving, no matter how fierce the contradictions and conflicts among the imperialist powers, the real danger of aggressive actions by imperialism against the socialist countries always exists at every moment. Comrade Enver Hoxha says that we must «exploit the great contradictions among

the enemies properly, correctly, to our advantage, to the advantage of the socialist countries and the people that are rising in revolution, must expose them unceasingly and not content ourselves with those so-called concessions or easements that the imperialists and the revisionists reluctantly make in order to overcome the immediate danger and take revenge later... Our socialist countries must employ tactics all the time, but these tactics must always conform to our ideology and must serve our strategy in the interests of our socialist countries and the revolution»¹.

Second, the Party of Labour of Albania upholds the view that the **exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions**, as a component part of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, **cannot be an aim in itself and must not be done proceeding from some narrow short-term interests of one or several socialist countries, and neglecting the interests of the development of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the other countries.** Stalin said, «I cannot imagine how the interests of our republic... could re-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971, pp. 460-461.

quire not the maximum revolutionary spirit and political activity of the workers of the West, but the reduction of this activity, the weakening of the revolutionary spirit»¹.

Third, our Party, basing itself on Lenin's teachings, has never conceived the exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions as support of one imperialist state or one imperialist group against the other. While supporting the just national liberation wars and movements of the peoples, the Party of Labour of Albania has always taken a clear-cut stand against imperialist war, has called on the peoples of the world to be vigilant and do everything in their power to forestall the danger of the aggressive war which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are preparing. But, if such a war breaks out, the PLA upholds Lenin's teaching that «the duty of the representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to **prepare the world proletarian revolution, as the only escape from the horrors of a world slaughter...** This is what internationalism means, and that is the duty of the internationalist

¹ J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 111 (Alb. ed.).

revolutionary worker, the genuine socialist»¹.

Over all these problems a fierce struggle has been and is going on between Marxism-Leninism and all shades of modern revisionism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the forces of the revolution and the counter-revolution. This is a stern class struggle which, as we have stressed, has involved the whole of society and has to do with the most cardinal and worrying problems of the time.

* * *

History has charged the international proletariat and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties with the mission of carrying this struggle forward, of waging it always from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. Parallel with the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat and the rise of its struggle, and as a result of this struggle, many of the countries where the former communist parties have slid into revisionism, for some years now **new Marxist-Leninist parties have emerged and are becoming firmly established.** They will take the great cause of the proletariat completely into their hands and carry it

¹ V.I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, p. 325 (Alb. ed.).

forward. These parties are still young, but precisely because they are saplings of the revolutionary new, they will grow steadily stronger and more consolidated, become genuine, proven leaders.

Appreciating the great importance of this revolutionary process of the emergence and growth of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, our Party of Labour has always been solidly behind their correct line, has backed them up in all directions, ideologically, politically and organizationally, considering genuine and sincere assistance for these parties as its internationalist duty.

Failure to support this revolutionary process on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, or even worse, under the guise of «assistance», to exert an influence towards ideological confusion and disorganization among them, means to do great harm to the cause of the proletariat and the revolution.

Precisely in the course of this struggle and these difficulties the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and becoming stronger day by day. The internationalist rallies held recently by a series of Marxist-Leninist parties, such as those of Germany, Italy, Portugal, Greece, etc.,

show that, day by day, these new parties are assuming the leadership of the working class and the other oppressed masses of their countries.

The future belongs to these new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, no matter how small and powerless they may appear today; whereas the revisionist parties, however great and powerful they seem today, will end up where the social-democratic and reformist parties of the Second International have ended.

The class struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world will become ever fiercer, more and more true revolutionaries enlightened by the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin will rally to their ranks, the international proletariat and the other masses of the working people, under the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, will become ever more conscious of their role in carrying the revolution through to a successful conclusion. Thus the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist revolutionary front will be extended from day to day and the triumph of the proletariat, the triumph of the peoples will be brought nearer.

As an inseparable component of this great anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, our

Party and people will continue their unvarying course of the relentless and consistent waging of the class struggle and the ceaseless revolutionization of the whole life of the country, the course of the class alliance, and support for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and people of the world. In this way our Party and people will fulfil their national and international duty as always and will march with sure steps towards socialist and communist society.